

## BOOK V.

### TERPSICHORE.

THE Persians, left in Europe by Darius under the command of Megabazus,<sup>1</sup> subdued the Perinthians first of the Hellespontines, who were unwilling to submit to Darius, and had been before roughly handled by the Pæonians. For the Pæonians from the Strymon, an oracle having admonished them to invade the Perinthians, and if the Perinthians, when encamped over against them, should challenge them, shouting to them by name, then to attack, but if they should not shout out to them, not to attack; the Pæonians did accordingly. The Perinthians having encamped opposite to them in the suburbs, a threefold single combat there took place according to a challenge; for they matched a man with a man, a horse with a horse, and a dog with a dog. But the Perinthians being victorious in two of these combats, when through excess of joy they sang the Pæon, the Pæonians conjectured that this was the meaning of the oracle, and said among themselves: "Now surely the oracle must be accomplished; now it is our part to act." Thus the Pæonians attacked the Perinthians as they were singing the Pæon, and gained a complete victory, and left but few of them alive. 2. Such, then, had formerly been the achievements of the Pæonians; but at that time, though the Perinthians proved themselves valiant in defence of their liberty, the Persians and Megabazus overcame them by numbers. When Perinthus was subdued, Megabazus marched his army through Thrace, subjecting to the king every city and every nation of those dwelling in that country; for this command had been given him by Darius, to subdue Thrace.

3. The nation of the Thracians is the greatest of any among

<sup>1</sup> See B. IV. chap. 144.

men, except at least the Indians ; and if they were governed by one man, or acted in concert, they would, in my opinion, be invincible, and by far the most powerful of all nations. But as this is impracticable, and it is impossible that they should ever be united, they are therefore weak. They have various names, according to their respective regions, but all observe similar customs in every respect, except the Getæ, the Trausi, and those who dwell above the Crestonæans. 4. Of these, what are the customs of the Getæ, who pretend to be immortal, I have already described.<sup>2</sup> The Trausi, in all other respects, observe the same usages as the rest of the Thracians ; but with regard to one born amongst them, or that dies, they do as follows. The relations, seating themselves round one that is newly born, bewail him, *deploring* the many evils he must needs fulfil, since he has been born ; enumerating the various sufferings incident to mankind : but one that dies they bury in the earth, making merry and rejoicing, recounting the many evils from which being released, he is now in perfect bliss. 5. Those above the Crestonæans do as follows : each man has several wives ; when therefore any of them dies, a great contest arises among the wives, and violent disputes among their friends, on this point, which of them was most loved by the husband. She who is adjudged to have been so, and is so honoured, having been extolled both by men and women, is slain on the tomb by her own nearest relative, and when slain is buried with her husband ; the others deem this a great misfortune, for this is the utmost disgrace to them. 6. There is moreover this custom among the rest of the Thracians, they sell their children for exportation. They keep no watch over their unmarried daughters, but suffer them to have intercourse with what men they choose. But they keep a strict watch over their wives, and purchase them from their parents at high prices. To be marked with punctures is accounted a sign of noble birth ; to be without punctures, ignoble. To be idle is most honourable ; but to be a tiller of the soil, most dishonourable ; to live by war and rapine is most glorious. These are the most remarkable of their customs. 7. They worship the following gods only, Mars, Bacchus, and Diana. But their kings, to the exception of the other citizens, reverence Mercury most

<sup>2</sup> B. IV. chap. 93, 94.

of all the gods ; they swear by him only, and say that they are themselves sprung from Mercury. 8. The funerals of the wealthy among them are celebrated in this manner. They expose the corpse during three days ; and having slain all kinds of victims, they feast, having first made lamentation. Then they bury them, having first burnt them, or at all events placing them under ground ; then having thrown up a mound, they celebrate all kinds of games, in which the greatest rewards are adjudged to single combat, according to the estimation in which they are held. Such are the funeral rites of the Thracians.

9. To the north of this region no one is able to say with certainty who are the people that inhabit it. But beyond the Ister appears to be a desert and interminable tract : the only men that I am able to hear of as dwelling beyond the Ister are those called Sigynnæ, who wear the Medic dress : their horses are shaggy all over the body, to five fingers in depth of hair ; they are small, flat-nosed, and unable to carry men ; but when yoked to chariots they are very fleet, therefore the natives drive chariots. Their confines extend as far as the Eneti on the Adriatic : and they say that they are a colony of Medes. How they can have been a colony of the Medes I cannot comprehend ; but any thing may happen in course of time. Now, the Ligyes, who live above Massilia, call traders *Sigynnæ*, and the Cyprians *give that name* to spears. 10. The Thracians say, bees occupy the parts beyond the Ister, and by reason of them it is impossible to penetrate farther ; to me, however, in saying this they appear to say what is improbable, for these creatures are known to be impatient of cold ; but the regions beneath the Bear seem to be uninhabited by reason of the cold. Such is the account given of this country. Megabazus, then, subjected its maritime parts to the Persians.

11. Darius, as soon as he had crossed the Hellespont and reached Sardis, remembered the good offices of Histiaëus the Milesian, and the advice of Coes the Mitylenian. Having therefore sent for them to Sardis, he gave them their choice of a recompence. Histiaëus, as being already tyrant of Miletus, desired no other government in addition ; but asked for Myrcinus of Edonia, wishing to build a city there. But Coes, as not being a tyrant, but a private citizen, asked for the government of Mitylene. When their requests were granted to both of them, they betook

themselves to the places they had chosen. 12. It happened that Darius, having witnessed a circumstance of the following kind, was desirous of commanding Megabazus to seize the Pæonians and transplant them out of Europe into Asia. Pigres and Mantyes were Pæonians, who, when Darius had crossed over into Asia, being desirous to rule over the Pæonians, came to Sardis, bringing with them their sister, who was tall and beautiful: and having watched the opportunity when Darius was seated in public in the suburb of the Lydians, they did as follows. Having dressed their sister in the best manner they could, they sent her for water, carrying a pitcher on her head, leading a horse on her arm, and spinning flax. As the woman passed by, it attracted the attention of Darius, for what she was doing was neither according to the Persian or Lydian customs, nor of any other people in Asia; when, therefore, it attracted his attention, he sent some of his body-guard, bidding them observe what the woman would do with the horse. The guards accordingly followed her, and she, when she came to the river, watered the horse; and having watered it, and filled her pitcher, returned by the same way, carrying the water on her head, leading the horse on her arm, and turning her spindle. 13. Darius, surprised at what he heard from the spies, and at what he himself had seen, commanded them to bring her into his presence; and when she was brought, her brothers also made their appearance, who were keeping a look-out some where not far off: and when Darius asked of what country she was, the young men said, that they were Pæonians, and that she was their sister. He then inquired, "Who are the Pæonians, in what part of the world do they live, and for what purpose have they come to Sardis?" They told him that "they had come to deliver themselves up to him, and that Pæonia was situated on the river Strymon, and the Strymon was not far from the Hellespont; and that they were a colony of Teucrians, from Troy." They then mentioned these several particulars; and he asked, "If all the women of that country were so industrious:" they readily answered, that such was the case; for they had formed their plan for this very purpose.

14. Thereupon Darius writes letters to Megabazus, whom he had left general in Thrace, commanding him to remove the Pæonians from their abodes, and to bring to him themselves,



their children, and their wives. A horseman immediately hastened to the Hellespont with the message; and having crossed over, delivered the letter to Megabazus; but he, having read it, and taken guides from Thrace, marched against Pæonia. 15. The Pæonians, having heard that the Persians were coming against them, assembled, and drew out their forces towards the sea, thinking that the Persians would attempt to enter and attack them in that direction: the Pæonians, accordingly, were prepared to repel the army of Megabazus at its first onset. But the Persians, understanding that the Pæonians had assembled and were guarding the approaches on the coast, having guides, went the upper road; and having escaped the notice of the Pæonians, came suddenly on their towns, which were destitute of inhabitants, and as they fell upon them when empty, they easily got possession of them. But the Pæonians, as soon as they heard that their cities were taken, immediately dispersed themselves, and repaired each to his own home, and gave themselves up to the Persians. Thus the Siropæonians and Pæoplæ, and those tribes of Pæonians as far as the lake Prasias, were removed from their abodes, and transported into Asia. 16. But those around Mount Pangæus and near the Doberes, the Agrianæ, Odomanti, and those who inhabit Lake Prasias itself, were not at all subdued by Megabazus. Yet he attempted to conquer those who live upon the lake in dwellings contrived after this manner: planks fitted on lofty piles are placed in the middle of the lake, with a narrow entrance from the main land by a single bridge. These piles that support the planks all the citizens anciently placed there at the common charge; but afterwards they established a law to the following effect: whenever a man marries, for each wife he sinks three piles, bringing wood from a mountain called Orbelus: but every man has several wives. They live in the following manner; every man has a hut on the planks, in which he dwells, with a trap-door closely fitted in the planks, and leading down to the lake. They tie the young children with a cord round the foot, fearing lest they should fall into the lake beneath. To their horses and beasts of burden they give fish for fodder; of which there is such an abundance, that when a man has opened his trap-door, he lets down an empty basket by a cord into the lake, and, after waiting a short time, draws it up full of fish. They have two kinds of

fish, which they call papraces and tilones. Those of the Pæonians, then, who were subdued were taken to Asia.

17. When Megabazus had subdued the Pæonians, he sent into Macedonia seven Persians as ambassadors, who next to himself were the most illustrious in the army. They were sent to Amyntas to demand earth and water for king Darius. From the lake Prasias the distance to Macedonia is very short. For near adjoining the lake is a mine, from which in later times a talent of silver came in daily to Alexander: beyond the mine, when one has passed the mountain called Dysorum, one is in Macedonia. 18. When therefore the Persians who were sent arrived at the court of Amyntas, on going into the presence of Amyntas, they demanded earth and water for king Darius. He both promised to give these, and invited them to partake of his hospitality; and having prepared a magnificent feast, he entertained the Persians with great courtesy. But after supper, the Persians, who were drinking freely, spoke as follows: "Macedonian host, it is a custom with us Persians, when we have given a great feast, to introduce our concubines and lawful wives to sit by our side: since therefore you have received us kindly, and have entertained us magnificently, and promise to give earth and water to king Darius, do you follow our custom." To this Amyntas answered, "O Persians, we have no such custom, but that the men should be separated from the women; yet since you, who are our masters, require this also, this shall also be granted to you." Amyntas, having spoken thus, sent for the women; and they, when they had come, being summoned, sat down in order opposite to the Persians. Thereupon the Persians, seeing the women were beautiful, spoke to Amyntas, saying, "that what had been done was not at all wise, for that it were better that the women should not have come at all, than that, when they had come, they should not be placed beside them, but sit opposite to them as a torment to their eyes." Upon this Amyntas, compelled by necessity, ordered them to sit down by the men; and when the women obeyed, the Persians, as being very full of wine, began to feel their breasts; and some one even attempted to kiss them. 19. Amyntas, when he beheld this, though very indignant, remained quiet, through excessive fear of the Persians. But Alexander, son of Amyntas, who was present, and witnessed this behaviour, being a young man

and inexperienced in misfortune, was no longer able to restrain himself ; so that, bearing it with difficulty, he addressed Amyntas as follows : " Father, yield to your years ; and retire to rest, nor persist in drinking. I will stay here, and furnish the guests with all things necessary." Amyntas, perceiving that Alexander was about to put some new design in execution, said, " Son, I pretty well discern by your words, that you are burning with rage, and that you wish to dismiss me that you may attempt some new design. I charge you therefore to plan nothing new against these men, lest you cause our ruin, but endure to behold what is being done ; with respect to my retiring, I will comply with your wishes." 20. When Amyntas, having made this request, had retired, Alexander said to the Persians : " Friends, these women are entirely at your service ; and whether you desire to have intercourse with them all, or with any of them, on this point make known your own wishes : but now, as the time for retiring is fast approaching, and I perceive that you have had abundance to drink, let these women, if that is agreeable to you, go and bathe, and when they have bathed, expect their return. Having spoken thus, as the Persians approved his proposal, he sent away the women, as they came out, to their own apartment ; and Alexander himself, having dressed a like number of smoothfaced young men in the dress of the women, and having furnished them with daggers, led them in ; and as he led them in, he addressed the Persians as follows : " Persians, you appear to have been entertained with a sumptuous feast ; for we have given you not only all we had, but whatever we could procure ; and, which is more than all the rest, we now freely give up to you our mothers and sisters, that you may perceive that you are thoroughly honoured by us with whatever you deserve ; and also that you may report to the king who sent you, that a Greek, the prince of the Macedonians, gave you a good reception both at table and bed." Having thus spoken, Alexander placed by the side of each Persian a Macedonian man, as if a woman ; but they, when the Persians attempted to touch them, put them to death. 21. By this death these perished, both they and their attendants, for they were followed by carriages, and attendants, and all kinds of baggage ; but all these, with the whole of the men, disappeared. But after no long time, a

great search was made by the Persians for these men ; but Alexander by his prudence checked their inquiry, by giving a considerable sum of money, and his own sister, whose name was Gygæa, to Bubares a Persian, the chief of those sent to search for those who were lost : thus the inquiry into the death of these Persians being suppressed, was hushed up. 22. That these princes, who are sprung from Perdiccas, are Greeks, as they themselves affirm, I myself happen to know ; and in a future part of my history<sup>3</sup> I will prove that they are Greeks. Moreover, the judges presiding at the games of the Grecians in Olympia have determined that they are so ; for when Alexander wished to enter the lists, and went down there for that very purpose, his Grecian competitors wished to exclude him, alleging, that the games were not instituted for barbarian combatants, but Grecians. But Alexander, after he had proved himself to be an Argive, was pronounced to be a Greek, and when he was to contend in the stadium, his lot fell out with that of the first combatant. In this manner were these things transacted.

23. Megabazus, leading with him the Pæonians, arrived at the Hellespont ; and having crossed over from thence, came to Sardis. In the mean time, Histæus the Milesian was building a wall round the place, which, at his own request, he had received from Darius as a reward for his services in preserving the bridge : this place was near the river Strymon, and its name was Myrcinus. But Megabazus, having heard what was being done by Histæus, as soon as he reached Sardis, bringing the Pæonians with him, addressed Darius as follows : “O king, what have you done, in allowing a crafty and subtle Greek to possess a city in Thrace, where there is abundance of timber fit for building ships, and plenty of wood for oars, and silver mines ? A great multitude of Greeks and barbarians dwell around, who, when they have obtained him as a leader, will do whatever he may command both by day and by night. Put a stop therefore to the proceedings of this man, that you may not be harassed by a domestic war ; but, having sent for him in a gentle manner, stop him : and when you have got him in your power, take care that he never returns to the Greeks.” 24. Megabazus, speaking thus, easily persuaded Darius, since he wisely fore-

<sup>3</sup> See B. VIII. chap. 137.



saw what was likely to happen. Thereupon, Darius, having sent a messenger to Myrcinus, spoke as follows : " Histiaëus, king Darius says thus : I find on consideration that there is no man better affected to me and my affairs than thyself ; and this I have learnt, not by words, but actions ; now therefore, since I have great designs to put in execution, come to me by all means, that I may communicate them to thee." Histiaëus, giving credit to these words, and at the same time considering it a great honour to become a counsellor of the king, went to Sardis : when he arrived, Darius addressed him as follows . " Histiaëus, I have sent for you on this occasion. As soon as I returned from Scythia, and you were out of my sight, I have wished for nothing so much as to see you and converse with you again ; being persuaded that a friend who is both intelligent and well affected, is the most valuable of all possessions ; both of which I am able to testify from my own knowledge concur in you, as regards my affairs. Now then, for you have done well in coming, I make you this offer. Think no more of Miletus, nor of the new-founded city in Thrace ; but follow me to Susa, have the same that I have, and be the partner of my table and counsels." 25. Darius having spoken thus, and having appointed Artaphernes, his brother by the same father, to be governor of Sardis, departed for Susa, taking Histiaëus with him ; and having nominated Otanes to be general of the forces on the coast, whose father Sisamnes, one of the royal judges, king Cambyses had put to death and flayed,<sup>4</sup> because he had given an unjust judgment for a sum of money. And having had his skin torn off, he had it cut into thongs, and extended it on the bench on which he used to sit when he pronounced judgment : and Cambyses, having so extended it, appointed as judge in the room of Sisamnes, whom he had slain and flayed, the son of Sisamnes, admonishing him to remember on what seat he sat to administer justice. 26. This Otanes, then, who had been placed on this seat, being now appointed successor to Megabazus in the command of the army, subdued the Byzantians and Chalcedonians, and took Antandros, which belongs to the territory of Troas, and Lamponium ; and having obtained ships from the Lesbians, he took Lemnós and Imbrus, both of which were then inhabited by Pelasgians. 27. (Now the Lemnians fought valiantly, and having defended themselves

<sup>4</sup> Literally "he cut off all his human *skin*."

for some time, were at length overcome ; and over those who survived, the Persians set up Lycaretus as governor, the brother of Mæandrius who had reigned in Samos. This Lycaretus died while governor of Lemnos.) Otanes enslaved and subdued them all ; his reasons for doing so were as follows : some he charged of desertion to the Scythians ; others, of having harassed Darius's army in their return home from the Scythians. Such was his conduct while general of the forces.

28. Afterwards, *for* the intermission from misfortune was not of long duration, evils arose a second time to the Ionians from Naxos and Miletus. For, on the one hand, Naxos surpassed all the islands in opulence ; and on the other hand, Miletus at the same time had attained the summit of its prosperity, and was accounted the ornament of Ionia ; though before this period, it had for two generations suffered excessively from seditions, until the Parians reconciled them ; for the Milesians had chosen them out of all the Greeks to settle their differences. 29. The Parians reconciled them in the following manner. When their most eminent men arrived at Miletus, as they saw their private affairs in a dreadful state, they said that they wished to go through their whole country ; and, in doing this and going through all Milesia, wheresoever they saw in the devastated country any land well cultivated, they wrote down the name of the proprietor. And having traversed the whole country and found but few such, as soon as they came down to the city, they called an assembly, and appointed to govern the city those persons whose lands they had found well cultivated ; for they said they thought they would administer the public affairs as well as they had done their own. The rest of the Milesians, who before had been split into factions, they ordered to obey them. Thus the Parians reconciled the Milesians. 30. From these two cities at that time misfortunes began to befall Ionia in the following manner. Some of the opulent men were exiled from Naxos by the people, and being exiled, went to Miletus : the governor of Miletus happened to be Aristagoras, son of Molpagoras, son-in-law and cousin of Histiaëus, son of Lysagoras, whom Darius detained at Susa. For Histiaëus was tyrant of Miletus, and happened to be at that time at Susa, when the Naxians came, who were before on terms of friendship with Histiaëus. The Naxians then, having arrived at Miletus, entreated Aristagoras if he could

by any means give them some assistance, that so they might return to their own country. But he, having considered that if by his means they should return to their city, he would get the dominion of Naxos, used the friendship of Histæus as a pretence, and addressed the following discourse to them : " I am not able of myself to furnish you with a force sufficient to reinstate you against the wishes of the Naxians who are in possession of the city, for I hear that the Naxians have eight thousand heavy-armed men, and a considerable number of ships of war. Yet I will contrive some way, and use my best endeavours ; and I design it in this way : Artaphernes happens to be my friend ; he is son of Hystaspes and brother of king Darius, and commands all the maritime parts of Asia, and has a large army and many ships. This man, I am persuaded, will do whatever we desire." The Naxians, having heard this, urged Aristagoras to bring it about in the best way he could, and bade him promise presents, and their expenses to the army, for that they would repay it, having great expectation that when they should appear at Naxos the Naxians would do whatever they should order, as also would the other islanders ; for of these Cyclades islands not one was as yet subject to Darius.

31. Accordingly Aristagoras, having gone to Sardis, told Artaphernes, that Naxos was an island of no great extent, but otherwise beautiful and fertile, and near Ionia, and in it was much wealth and many slaves. " Do you therefore send an army against this country, to reinstate those who have been banished from thence ; and if you do this, I have, in the first place, a large sum of money ready, in addition to the expenses of the expedition, for it is just that we who lead you on should supply that ; and in the next, you will acquire for the king Naxos itself, and the islands dependent upon it, Paros, Andros, and the rest that are called Cyclades. Setting out from thence, you will easily attack Eubœa, a large and wealthy island, not less than Cyprus, and very easy to be taken. A hundred ships are sufficient to subdue them all." He answered him as follows : " You propose things advantageous to the king's house, and advise every thing well, except the number of ships ; instead of one hundred, two hundred shall be ready at the commencement of the spring. But it is necessary that the king himself should approve of the design." 32. Now Aris-

tagoras, when he heard this, being exceedingly rejoiced, went back to Miletus. But Artaphernes, when, on his sending to Susa and communicating what was said by Aristagoras, Darius himself also approved the plan, made ready two hundred triremes, and a very numerous body of Persians and other allies : and he appointed Megabates general, a Persian of the family of the Achemenidæ, his own and Darius's nephew, whose daughter, if the report be true, was afterwards betrothed to Pausanias, son of Cleombrotus the Lacedæmonian, who aspired to become tyrant of Greece. Artaphernes, having appointed Megabates general, sent forward the army to Aristagoras.

33. Megabates, having taken with him from Miletus, Aristagoras, and the Ionian forces and the Naxians, sailed professedly for the Hellespont ; but when he arrived at Chios, anchored at Caucasa, that he might cross over from thence to Naxos by a north wind. However, since it was fated that the Naxians were not to perish by this armament, the following event occurred. As Megabates was going round the watches on board the ships, he found no one on guard on board a Myndian ship ; thereupon, being indignant at this, he ordered his body-guards to find the captain of this ship, whose name was Scylax, and to bind him, having passed him half-way through the lower rowlock of the vessel, so that his head should be on the outside of the vessel, and his body within. When Scylax was bound, some one told Aristagoras that Megabates had bound and disgraced his Myndian friend. He went therefore and interceded for him with the Persian, but when he found he could obtain nothing, he went and released him. Megabates, hearing of this, was very indignant, and enraged with Aristagoras : but he said, "What have you to do with these matters ? Did not Artaphernes send you to obey me, and to sail wheresoever I should command ? Why do you busy yourself ?" Aristagoras spoke thus. But Megabates, exasperated at this, as soon as night arrived, despatched men in a ship to Naxos, to inform the Naxians of the impending danger. 34. Now the Naxians did not at all expect that this armament was coming against them ; when therefore they heard of it, they immediately carried every thing from the fields into the town, and prepared to undergo a siege, and brought food and drink within the walls. Thus they made



preparations, as if war was close at hand ; but the Persians, when they crossed over from Chios to Naxos, had to attack men well fortified, and besieged them during four months. So that having consumed all the supplies they had brought with them, together with large sums furnished by Aristagoras, and wanting still more to carry on the siege, they therefore built a fortress for the Naxian exiles, and retired to the continent, having been unsuccessful.

35. Aristagoras was unable to fulfil his promise to Artaphernes ; and at the same time the expense of the expedition, which was demanded, pressed heavy on him ; he was alarmed too on account of the ill success of the army, and at having incurred the ill will of Megabates, and thought that he should be deprived of the government of Miletus ; dreading therefore each of these things, he meditated a revolt : for it happened at the same time that a messenger with his head punctured came from Susa from Histiaëus, urging Aristagoras to revolt from the king. For Histiaëus, being desirous to signify to Aristagoras his wish for him to revolt, had no other means of signifying it with safety, because the roads were guarded ; therefore, having shaved the head of the most trustworthy of his slaves, he marked it, and waited till the hair was grown again : as soon as it was grown again, he sent him to Miletus without any other instructions, than that when he arrived at Miletus he should desire Aristagoras to shave off his hair and look upon his head : the punctures, as I said before, signified a wish for him to revolt. Histiaëus did this because he looked upon his detention at Susa as a great misfortune ; if then a revolt should take place he had great hopes that he should be sent down to the coast ; but if Miletus made no new attempt, he thought that he should never go there again. 36. Histiaëus accordingly under these considerations sent off the messenger. All these things concurred together at the same time to Aristagoras ; he therefore consulted with his partisans, communicating to them his own opinion and the message that had come from Histiaëus : now all the rest concurred in the same opinion, urging him to revolt ; but Hecataëus, the historian, at first endeavoured to dissuade him from undertaking a war against the king of the Persians, enumerating all the nations whom Darius governed, and his power ; but when he could not prevail, he in the next

place advised, that they should so contrive as to make themselves masters of the sea. "Now," he continued, "he saw no other way of effecting this, for he was well aware that the power of the Milesians was weak ; but if the treasures should be seized from the temple of the Branchidæ, which Cræsus the Lydian had dedicated, he had great hopes that they might acquire the dominion of the sea ; and thus they would have money for their own use, and the enemy could not plunder that treasure." But this treasure was very considerable, as I have already related in the first part of my history.<sup>5</sup> This opinion however did not prevail. Nevertheless it was resolved to revolt, and that one of them, having sailed to Myus to the force that had returned from Naxos, and which was then there, should endeavour to seize the captains on board the ships. 37. Iatragoras, having been despatched for this very purpose, and having, by stratagem, seized Oliatus, son of Ibanolis of Mylassa, Histæus, son of Tymnes of Termera, Coes, son of Erxandrus, to whom Darius had given Mitylene, Aristagoras, son of Heraclides, of Cyme, and many others ; Aristagoras thus openly revolted, devising every thing he could against Darius. And first, in pretence, having laid aside the sovereignty, he established an equality in Miletus, in order that the Milesians might more readily join with him in the revolt. And afterwards he effected the same throughout the rest of Ionia, expelling some of the tyrants ; and he delivered up those whom he had taken from on board the ships that had sailed with him against Naxos, to the cities, in order to gratify the people, giving them up generally to the respective cities, from whence each came. 38. The Mityleneans, as soon as they received Coes, led him out, and stoned him to death ; but the Cymeans let their tyrant go ; and in like manner most of the others let theirs go. Accordingly there was a suppression of tyrants throughout the cities. But Aristagoras the Milesian, when he had suppressed the tyrants, and enjoined them all to appoint magistrates in each of the cities, in the next place went himself in a trireme as ambassador to Sparta, for it was necessary for him to procure some powerful alliance.

39. Anaxandrides, son of Leon, no longer survived and reigned over Sparta, but was already dead ; Cleomenes, son of Anaxandrides, held the sovereignty, not having acquired it

<sup>5</sup> See B. I. chap. 50, 51, 92.

by his virtues, but by his birth. Anaxandrides, who had married his own sister's daughter, though she was very much beloved by him, had no children: this being the case, the Ephori, having sent for him, said, "If you do not provide for your own interests, yet we must not overlook this, that the race of Eurysthenes should become extinct. Do you therefore put away the wife whom you have, since she bears no children, and marry another; and by so doing you will gratify the Spartans." He answered, saying, "that he would do neither of these things; and that they did not advise him well in urging him to dismiss the wife he had, when she had committed no error, and to take another in her place, and therefore he would not obey them." 40. Upon this the Ephori and senators, having consulted, made the following proposal to Anaxandrides: "As we see you strongly attached to the wife whom you have, act as follows, and do not oppose it, lest the Spartans should come to some unusual resolution respecting you. We do not require of you the dismissal of your present wife; pay her the same attention as you have always done, and marry another besides her, who may bear you children." When they spoke to this effect, Anaxandrides consented; and afterwards having two wives he inhabited two houses, doing what was not at all in accordance with Spartan usages. 41. When no long time had elapsed, the wife last married bore this Cleomenes, and presented to the Spartans an heir apparent to the throne: and the former wife, who had before been barren, by some strange fortune then proved to be with child; and though she was really so, yet the relations of the second wife having heard of it raised a disturbance, saying that she boasted vainly, purposing to bring forward a suppositious child. As they made a great noise, when the time approached, the Ephori from distrust sat around, and watched the woman in her labour. She, however, when she had borne Dorieus, shortly afterwards had Leonidas, and after him, in due course, Cleombrotus; though some say that Cleombrotus and Leonidas were twins. But she who bore Cleomenes, and who was the second wife, and daughter to Prinetades, son of Demarmenus, never bore a second time.

42. Cleomenes, as it is said, was not of sound mind, but almost mad; whereas, Dorieus was the first of the young men of his age, and was fully convinced that by his virtues he

should obtain the sovereignty. So that, being of this persuasion, when Anaxandrides died, and the Lacedæmonians, following the usual custom, appointed the eldest, Cleomenes, to be king, Dorieus, being very indignant, and disdaining to be reigned over by Cleomenes, demanded a draught of men from the Spartans, and led them out to found a colony, without having consulted the oracle at Delphi to what land he should go and settle, nor doing any of those things that are usual on such occasions. But as he was very much grieved, he directed his ships to Libya, and some Theræans piloted him. Having arrived at Cinyps, he settled near the river, in the most beautiful spot of the Libyans. But in the third year, being driven out from thence by the Macæ, Libyans, and Carthaginians, he returned to Peloponnesus. 43. There Antichares, a citizen of Eleon, from the oracles delivered to Laius, advised him to found Heraclea in Sicily, affirming that all the country of Eryx belonged to the Heraclidæ, Hercules himself having possessed himself of it. He, hearing this, went to Delphi to inquire of the oracle, whether he should take the country to which he was preparing to go. The Pythian answered, that he should take it. Dorieus, therefore, taking with him the force which he had led to Libya, sailed along the coast of Italy. 44. At that time, as the Sybarites say, they and their king Telys were preparing to make war against Crotona: and the Crotonians, being much alarmed, implored of Dorieus to assist them, and obtained their request; whereupon Dorieus marched with them against Sybaris, and took Sybaris in concert with them. Now, the Sybarites say that Dorieus, and those who were with him, did this. But the Crotonians affirm that no foreigner took part with them in the war against the Sybarites, except only Callias of Elis, a seer of the Iamidæ, and he did so under the following circumstances: he had fled from Telys, king of the Sybarites, and come over to them, when the victims did not prove favourable as he was sacrificing against Crotona. Such is the account they give. 45. Each party produces the following proofs of what they assert. The Sybarites allege a sacred enclosure and temple near the dry Crastis,<sup>6</sup> which they say Dorieus, when he had assisted in taking the city, erected to Minerva, surnamed Crastian; and in the next place they mention the death of Dorieus, as the

<sup>6</sup> Called "dry" because its stream was dried up in summer.



greatest proof, for that he was killed for having acted contrary to the warnings of the oracle. For if he had not at all transgressed, but had done that for which he was sent, he would have taken and possessed the Erycinian country, and having taken it would have retained it, nor would he and his army have been destroyed. On the other hand, the Crotonians show selected portions of land given to Callias the Elean, in the territories of Crotona, which the descendants of Callias continued to occupy even in my time; but to Dorieus, and the posterity of Dorieus, nothing *was given*: whereas, if Dorieus had assisted them in the Sybaritic war, much more would have been given to him than to Callias. These, then, are the proofs that each produces, and every man has the liberty of adhering to that which he judges most probable. 46. There sailed with Dorieus also other Spartans, joint-founders of a colony, as Thessalus, Paræbates, Celeas, and Euryleon; who, on their arrival with the whole armament in Sicily, were killed, being defeated in battle by the Phœnicians and Eggestæans. Euryleon alone of the associates in founding the colony survived this disaster: he, having collected the survivors of the army, possessed himself of Minoa, a colony of the Selinuntians, and assisted in liberating the Selinuntians from their monarch Pythagoras. But afterwards, when he had removed him, he himself seized the tyranny of Selinus, and continued monarch for a short time; for the Selinuntians, having risen up against him, put him to death, though he had taken sanctuary at the altar of the Forensian Jupiter. 47. Philippus, son of Butacides, a citizen of Crotona, accompanied Dorieus, and perished with him. He having entered into a contract of marriage with the daughter of Telys the Sybarite, fled from Crotona, but disappointed of his marriage, sailed to Cyrene; and setting out from thence, he accompanied Dorieus in a trireme of his own, with a crew maintained at his own expense; for he had been victorious in the Olympian games, and was the handsomest of the Greeks of his day; and on account of his beauty he obtained from the Eggestæans what no other person ever did, for having erected a shrine on his sepulchre, they propitiate him with sacrifices. 48. Dorieus, then, met with his death in the manner above described; but if he had submitted to be governed by Cleomenes, and had continued in Sparta, he would have become king of Lacedæmon. For Cleomenes did not reign for any

length of time, but died without a son, leaving a daughter only, whose name was Gorgo.

49. Aristagoras then, tyrant of Miletus, arrived at Sparta, when Cleomenes held the government ; and he went to confer with him, as the Lacedæmonians say, having a brazen tablet, on which was engraved the circumference of the whole earth, and the whole sea, and all rivers. And Aristagoras, having come to a conference, addressed him as follows : " Wonder not, Cleomenes, at my eagerness in coming here, for the circumstances that urge are such *as I will describe*. That the children of Ionians should be slaves instead of free, is a great disgrace and sorrow to us, and above all others to you, inasmuch as you are at the head of Greece. Now, therefore, I adjure you, by the Grecian gods, rescue the Ionians, who are of your own blood, from servitude. It is easy for you to effect this, for the barbarians are not valiant ; whereas you, in matters relating to war, have attained to the utmost height of glory : their mode of fighting is this, *with* bows and a short spear ; and they engage in battle, wearing loose trowsers, and turbans on their heads, so they are easy to be overcome. Besides, there are treasures belonging to those who inhabit that continent, such as are not possessed by all other nations together ; beginning from gold, there is silver, brass, variegated garments, beasts of burden, and slaves ; all these you may have if you will. They live adjoining one another, as I will show you. Next these Ionians are the Lydians, who inhabit a fertile country, and abound in silver." As he said this he showed the circumference of the earth, which he brought with him, engraved on a tablet. " Next the Lydians," proceeded Aristagoras, " are these Phrygians to the eastward, who are the richest in cattle and in corn of all with whom I am acquainted. Next to the Phrygians are the Cappadocians, whom we call Syrians ; and bordering on them, the Cilicians, extending to this sea in which the island of Cyprus is situate ; they pay an annual tribute of five hundred talents to the king. Next to the Cilicians are these Armenians, who also abound in cattle ; and next the Armenians are the Matienians, who occupy this country ; and next them this territory of Cissia, in which Susa is situated on this river Choaspes, here the great king resides, and there are his treasures of wealth. If you take this city, you may boldly contend with Jupiter in

wealth. But now you must carry on war for a country of small extent, and not very fertile, and of narrow limits, with the Messenians, who are your equals in valour, and with the Arcadians and Argives, who have nothing akin to gold or silver, the desire of which induces men to hazard their lives in battle. But when an opportunity is offered to conquer all Asia with ease, will you prefer any thing else?" Aristagoras spoke thus, and Cleomenes answered him as follows: "Milesian friend, I defer to give you an answer until the third day." 50. On that day they got so far. When the day appointed for the answer was come, and they had met at the appointed place, Cleomenes asked Aristagoras, how many days' journey it was from the sea of the Ionians to the king. But Aristagoras, though he was cunning in other things, and had deceived him with much address, made a slip in this; for he should not have told the real fact, if he wished to draw the Spartans into Asia; whereas he told him plainly, that it was a three months' journey up there. But he, cutting short the rest of the description which Aristagoras was proceeding to give of the journey, said: "Milesian friend, depart from Sparta before sun-set; for you speak no agreeable language to the Lacedæmonians, in wishing to lead them a three months' journey from the sea." Cleomenes, having spoken thus, went home. 51. But Aristagoras, taking an olive-branch in his hand, went to the house of Cleomenes, and having entered in, as a suppliant, besought Cleomenes to listen to him, having first sent away his little child; for his daughter, whose name was Gorgo, stood by him; she happened to be his only child, and was about eight or nine years of age. But Cleomenes bid him say what he would, and not refrain for the sake of the child. Thereupon Aristagoras began promising ten talents, if he would do as he desired; and when Cleomenes refused, Aristagoras went on increasing in his offers, until he promised fifty talents; then the girl cried out, "Father, this stranger will corrupt you, unless you quickly depart." Cleomenes, pleased with the advice of the child, retired to another apartment; and Aristagoras left Sparta altogether, nor could he get an opportunity to give further particulars of the route to the king's residence.

52. With respect to this road, the case is as follows. There are royal stations all along, and excellent inns, and the whole

road is through an inhabited and safe country. There are twenty stations extending through Lydia and Phrygia, and the distance is ninety-four parasangs and a half. After Phrygia, the river Halys is met with, at which there are gates, which it is absolutely necessary to pass through, and thus to cross the river: there is also a considerable fort on it. When you cross over into Cappadocia, and traverse that country, to the borders of Cilicia, there are eight and twenty stations, and one hundred and four parasangs; and on the borders of these people, you go through two gates, and pass by two forts. When you have gone through these and made the journey through Cilicia, there are three stations, and fifteen parasangs and a half. The boundary of Cilicia and Armenia is a river that is crossed in boats, it is called the Euphrates. In Armenia there are fifteen stations for resting-places, and fifty-six parasangs and a half; there is also a fort in the stations. Four rivers that are crossed in boats flow through this country, which it is absolutely necessary to ferry over. First, the Tigris; then, the second and third have the same name, though they are not the same river, nor flow from the same source. For the first mentioned of these flows from the Armenians, and the latter from the Matienians. The fourth river is called the Gyndes, which Cyrus once distributed into three hundred and sixty channels. As you enter from Armenia into the country of Matiene, there are four stations; and from thence as you proceed to the Cissian territory there are eleven stations, and forty-two parasangs and a half, to the river Choaspes, which also must be crossed in boats: on this Susa is built. All these stations amount to one hundred and eleven:<sup>7</sup> accordingly the resting-places at the stations are so many as you go up from Sardis to Susa. 53. Now if the royal road has been correctly measured in parasangs, and if the parasang is equal to thirty stades, as indeed it is, from Sardis to the royal palace, called Memnonia, is a distance of thirteen thousand five hundred stades, the parasangs being four hundred and fifty; and by those who travel one hundred and fifty stades every day, just ninety days are spent on the journey. 54. Thus Aristagoras the Milesian spoke correctly,

<sup>7</sup> The detail of stations above-mentioned gives only eighty-one instead of one hundred and eleven. The discrepancy can only be accounted for by a supposed defect in the manuscripts.



when he told Cleomenes the Lacedæmonian, that it was a three months' journey up to the king's residence. But if any one should require a more accurate account than this, I will also point this out to him ; for it is necessary to reckon with the above the journey from Ephesus to Sardis : I therefore say that the whole number of stades from the Grecian sea to Susa, (for such is the name of the Memnonian city,) amounts to fourteen thousand and forty ; for from Ephesus to Sardis is a distance of five hundred and forty stades. And thus the three months' journey is lengthened by three days.

55. Aristagoras, being driven from Sparta, went to Athens, which had been delivered from tyrants in the following manner. When Aristogiton and Harmodius, who were originally Gephyræans by extraction, had slain Hipparchus, son of Pisistratus, and brother to the tyrant Hippias, and who had seen a vision in a dream manifestly showing his own fate, after this the Athenians during the space of four years were no less, but even more, oppressed by tyranny than before.

56. Now the vision in Hipparchus's dream was as follows. On the night preceding the Panathenaic festival, Hipparchus fancied that a tall and handsome man stood by him, and uttered these enigmatical words : "Lion, endure with enduring mind to bear unendurable ills ; no one among unjust men shall escape retribution." As soon as it was day he laid these things before the interpreters of dreams ; and afterwards, having attempted to avert the vision, he conducted the procession in which he perished.

57. The Gephyræans, of whom were the murderers of Hipparchus, were, as they themselves say, originally sprung from Eretria ; but, as I find by diligent inquiry, they were Phœnicians, of the number of those Phœnicians who came with Cadmus to the country now called Bœotia, and they inhabited the district of Tanagra, in this country, which fell to their share. The Cadmeans having been first expelled from thence by the Argives, these Gephyræans being afterwards expelled by the Bœotians, betook themselves to Athens ; and the Athenians admitted them into the number of their citizens, on certain conditions, enacting that they should be excluded from several privileges, not worth mentioning. 58. These Phœnicians who came with Cadmus, and of whom the Gephyræans were, when they settled in this country, intro-

duced among the Greeks many other kinds of useful knowledge, and more particularly letters; which, in my opinion, were not before known to the Grecians. At first they used the characters which all the Phœnicians make use of; but afterwards, in process of time, together with the sound, they also changed the shape of the letters. At that time Ionian Greeks inhabited the greatest part of the country round about them; they having learnt these letters from the Phœnicians, changed them in a slight degree, and made use of them; and in making use of them, they designated them Phœnician, as justice required they should be called, since the Phœnicians had introduced them into Greece. Moreover, the Ionians, from ancient time, call books made of papyrus, parchments, because formerly, from the scarcity of papyrus, they used the skins of goats and sheep; and even at the present day many of the barbarians write on such skins. 59. And I myself have seen in the temple of Ismenian Apollo at Thebes in Bœotia, Cadmean letters engraved on certain tripods, for the most part resembling the Ionian. One of the tripods has this inscription: "Amphitryon dedicated me on his return from the Teleboans." These must be about the age of Laius, son of Labdacus, son of Polydorus, son of Cadmus. 60. Another tripod has these words in hexameter verse: "Scaeus, a boxer, having been victorious, dedicated me, a very beautiful offering, to thee, far-darting Apollo." Scaeus must have been son of Hippocoon, if indeed it was he who made the offering, and not another person bearing the same name as the son of Hippocoon; and must have been about the time of Œdipus, son of Laius. 61. A third tripod has these words also in hexameters: "Laodamas, being a monarch, dedicated this tripod, a very beautiful offering, to thee, far-seeing<sup>8</sup> Apollo." During the reign of this Laodamas, son of Eteocles, the Cadmeans were expelled by the Argives, and betook themselves to the Encheleæ. But the Gephyræans, who were then left, were afterwards compelled by the Bœotians to retire to Attica; and they built temples in Athens, in which the rest of the Athenians do not participate, but they are distinct from the other temples; more particularly the temple and mysteries of the Achæan Ceres.

62. Thus I have related the vision of Hipparchus's dream,

<sup>8</sup> Or "well-aiming."

and whence were sprung the Gephyræans, of whom were the murderers of Hipparchus ; and it is now proper to resume the account I originally set out to relate, *and show* how the Athenians were delivered from tyrants. While Hippias was tyrant, and embittered against the Athenians on account of the death of Hipparchus, the Alcmaeonidæ, who were Athenians by extraction, and were then banished by the Pisistratidæ, when they with other Athenian exiles did not succeed in their attempt to effect their return by force, but were signally defeated in their endeavours to reinstate themselves and liberate Athens, having fortified Lipsydrium, which is above Pæonia ;—thereupon the Alcmaeonidæ, practising every scheme against the Pisistratidæ, contracted with the Amphictyons, to build the temple which is now at Delphi, but then did not exist ; and as they were wealthy, and originally men of distinction, they constructed the temple in a more beautiful manner than the plan required, both in other respects, and also, though it was agreed they should make it of porine stone, they built its front of Parian marble. 63. Accordingly, as the Athenians state, these men, while staying at Delphi, prevailed on the Pythian by money, when any Spartans should come thither to consult the oracle, either on their own account or that of the public, to propose to them to liberate Athens from servitude. The Lacedæmonians, when the same warning was always given them, sent Anchimolius, son of Aster, a citizen of distinction, with an army, to expel the Pisistratidæ from Athens, though they were particularly united to them by the ties of friendship, for they considered their duty to the god more obligatory than their duty to men. These forces they sent by sea in ships, and he having touched at Phalerum, disembarked his army : but the Pisistratidæ, having had notice of this beforehand, called in assistance from Thessaly, for they had entered into an alliance with them. In accordance with their request, the Thessalians with one consent despatched a thousand horse to their assistance, and their king Cineas, a native of Conium. When the Pisistratidæ had these auxiliaries, they had recourse to the following plan : having cleared the plains of the Phalereans, and made the country practicable for cavalry, they sent the cavalry against the enemy's camp ; and it having fallen on, killed many of the Lacedæmonians, and among them Anchimolius,

and the survivors they drove to their ships. The first expedition from Lacedæmon thus got off; and the tomb of Anchimolius is at Alopecæ of Attica, near the temple of Hercules in Cynosarges. 64. Afterwards, the Lacedæmonians, having fitted out a larger armament, sent it from Athens, having appointed king Cleomenes, son of Anaxandrides, commander-in-chief; they did not however send it again by sea, but by land. On their entrance into the Athenian territory, the Thessalian cavalry first engaged with them, and was soon defeated, and more than forty of their number fell: the survivors immediately departed straight for Thessaly. Cleomenes having reached the city, accompanied by those Athenians who wished to be free, besieged the tyrants who were shut up in the Pelasgian fort. 65. However, the Lacedæmonians would not by any means have been able to expel the Pisistratidæ; for they had no intention of forming a blockade, and the Pisistratidæ were well provided with meat and drink; and after they had besieged them for a few days, they would have returned to Sparta; but now an accident happened, unfortunate for one party, and at the same time advantageous to the other; for the children of the Pisistratidæ were taken as they were being secretly removed from the country; when this occurred all their plans were thrown into confusion; and, to redeem their children, they submitted to such terms as the Athenians prescribed, so as to quit Attica within five days. They afterwards retired to Sigeum, on the Scamander, having governed the Athenians for thirty-six years. They were by extraction Pyliaus, and Neleïdæ, being sprung from the same ancestors as Codrus and Melanthus, who, though formerly foreigners, became kings of Athens. For this reason Hippocrates gave the same name to his son, in token of remembrance, calling him Pisistratus after Nestor's son Pisistratus. Thus the Athenians were delivered from tyrants; and what things worthy of recital they either did or suffered, before Ionia revolted from Darius, and Aristagoras the Milesian came to Athens to desire their assistance, I shall now relate.

66. Athens, although it was before powerful, being now delivered from tyrants, became still more so. Two men in it had great influence, Clisthenes, one of the Alcæmonidæ, who is reported to have prevailed with the Pythian, and Isagoras, son of Tisander, who was of an illustrious family, though I



am not able to mention his extraction ; his kinsmen, however, sacrifice to Carian Jupiter. These men disputed for power ; and Clisthenes, being worsted, gained over the people to his side, and afterwards he divided the Athenians, who consisted of four tribes, into ten ; changing the names, derived from the sons of Ion, Geleon, Ægicores, Argades, and Hoples, and inventing names from other heroes who were all natives, except Ajax ; him, though a stranger, he added as a near neighbour and ally. 67. Herein, I think, this Clisthenes imitated his maternal grandfather, Clisthenes, tyrant of Sicyon. For Clisthenes, when he made war on the Argives, in the first place put a stop to the rhapsodists in Sicyon contending for prizes in reciting the verses of Homer, because the Argives and Argos are celebrated in almost every part ; and in the next place, as there was, and still is, a shrine dedicated to Adrastus, son of Talaus, in the very forum of the Sicyonians, he was desirous of expelling him from the country, because he was an Argive. Going, therefore, to Delphi, he consulted the oracle, whether he should expel Adrastus ; and the Pythian answered him, saying, “ That Adrastus indeed was king of the Sicyonians, but Clisthenes deserved to be stoned.” Finding the god would not permit this, Clisthenes returned home and considered of a contrivance by which Adrastus might depart of himself. When he thought he had found out a way, he sent to Thebes of Bœotia, and said that he wished to introduce Melanippus, son of Astacus ; and the Thebans assented. Clisthenes, therefore, having introduced Melanippus, appointed him a precinct in the very prytaneum, and placed it there in the strongest position. But Clisthenes introduced Melanippus, for it is necessary to mention this motive, because he was the greatest enemy of Adrastus, having killed his brother Mecistes, and his son-in-law Tydeus. When he had appointed him this precinct, he took away the sacrifices and festivals of Adrastus, and gave them to Melanippus. But the Sicyonians had been accustomed to honour Adrastus very highly ; for the country itself belonged to Polybus, and Polybus dying without a son, gave the sovereignty to Adrastus, the son of his daughter. The Sicyonians paid other honours to Adrastus, and, moreover, celebrated his misfortune by tragic choruses ; not honouring Bacchus, but Adrastus, to that time. But Clisthenes transferred these dances to the worship of

Bacchus, and the rest of the ceremonies to Melanippus. This he did with reference to Adrastus. 68. He also changed the names of the Dorian tribes, in order that the Sicyonians and Argives might not have the same. And in this he very much ridiculed the Sicyonians. For, changing their names into names derived from a swine and an ass, he added only the terminations, except in the case of his own tribe; to this he gave a name significant of his own sovereignty, for they were called Archelai; but others Hyatæ, some Oneatæ, and others Chœreatæ.<sup>9</sup> The Sicyonians adopted these names for their tribes, both during the reign of Clisthenes, and after his death, during sixty years; after that, however, by common consent they changed them into Hylleans, Pamphylians, and Dymnataæ; and they added a fourth, after Ægialeus, son of Adrastus, giving them the name of Ægialeans.

69. Now the Sicyonian Clisthenes had done these things: and the Athenian Clisthenes, who was son to the daughter of this Sicyonian, and had his name from him, from contempt for the Ionians, as appears to me, that *the Athenians* might not have the same tribes as the Ionians, imitated his namesake Clisthenes. For when he had brought over to his own side the whole of the Athenian people, who had been before alienated from him, he changed the names of the tribes, and augmented their number; and established ten phylarchs instead of four, and distributed the people into ten tribes; and having gained over the people, he became much more powerful than his opponents. 70. Isagoras, being overcome in his turn, had recourse to the following counter-plot: he called in Cleomenes the Lacedæmonian, who had been on terms of friendship with him from the time of the siege of the Pisistratidæ; and besides, Cleomenes was suspected of having had intercourse with the wife of Isagoras. First of all, therefore, Cleomenes, sending a herald to Athens, required the expulsion of Clisthenes, and with him of many other Athenians, as being "under a curse." He sent this message under the instruction of Isagoras: for the Alcæonidæ, and those of their party, were accused of the following murder; but neither he himself had any share in it, nor had his friends. 71. Those of the Athenians who were "accursed," obtained the name on the

<sup>9</sup> Hyatæ, from ὕς, a sow; Oneatæ, from ὄνος, an ass; Chœreatæ, from χοῖρος, a pig.

following occasion. Cylon, an Athenian, had been victorious in the Olympic games ; he, through pride, aspired to the tyranny ; and having associated with himself a band of young men about his own age, attempted to seize the Acropolis, and, not being able to make himself master of it, he seated himself as a suppliant at the statue *of the goddess*. The prytanes of the Naucrari, who then had the administration of affairs in Athens, removed them, under promise that they should not be punished with death. But the Alcæonidæ are accused of having put them to death. These things were done before the time of Pisistratus.

72. When Cleomenes sent a herald to require the expulsion of Clisthenes and the accursed, Clisthenes himself withdrew. But, nevertheless, Cleomenes came afterwards to Athens with a small force, and, on his arrival, banished seven hundred Athenian families, whom Isagoras pointed out to him. Having done this, he next attempted to dissolve the senate, and placed the magistracy in the hands of three hundred partisans of Isagoras. But when the senate resisted and refused to obey, Cleomenes and Isagoras, with his partisans, seized the Acropolis ; and the rest of the Athenians, who sided with the senate, besieged them two days : on the third day, as many of them as were Lacedæmonians left the country, under a truce. And thus an omen, addressed to Cleomenes, was accomplished ; for when he went up to the Acropolis, purposing to take possession of it, he approached the sanctuary of the goddess to consult her ; but the priestess, rising from her seat before he had passed the door, said : “Lacedæmonian stranger ! retire, nor enter within this precinct ; for it is not lawful for Dorians to enter here.” He answered, “Woman, I am not a Dorian, but an Achæan.” He, however, paying no attention to the omen, made the attempt, and was again compelled to withdraw with the Lacedæmonians. The Athenians put the rest in bonds for execution ; and amongst them Timesitheus of Delphi, of whose deeds both of prowess and courage I could say much. These, then, died in bonds. 73. After this the Athenians, having recalled Clisthenes, and the seven hundred families that had been banished by Cleomenes, sent ambassadors to Sardis, wishing to form an alliance with the Persians ; for they were assured that the Lacedæmonians and Cleomenes would make war upon them. When the ambassa-

dors arrived at Sardis, and had spoken according to their instructions, Artaphernes son of Hystaspes, governor of Sardis, asked who they were, and what part of the world they inhabited, that they should desire to become allies of the Persians? And having been informed on these points by the ambassadors, he answered in few words, that if the Athenians would give earth and water to king Darius, he would enter into an alliance with them; but if they would not give them, he commanded them to depart. The ambassadors, having conferred together, said that they would give them, being anxious to conclude the alliance: they, however, on their return home were greatly blamed.

74. Cleomenes, conceiving that he had been highly insulted in words and deeds by the Athenians, assembled an army from all parts of the Peloponnesus, without mentioning for what purpose he assembled it; but he both purposed to revenge himself upon the Athenians, and desired to establish Isagoras as tyrant, for he had gone with him out of the Acropolis. Cleomenes accordingly invaded the territory of Eleusis with a large force, and the Bœotians, by agreement, took Ænoë and Hysiæ, the extreme divisions of Attica, and the Chalcidians attacked and ravaged the lands of Attica on the other side. The Athenians, though in a state of doubt, resolved to remember the Bœotians and Chalcidians on a future occasion, and took up their position against the Peloponnesians, who were at Eleusis. 75. When the two armies were about to engage, the Corinthians first, considering that they were not acting justly, changed their purpose and withdrew: and afterwards, Demaratus, son of Ariston, who was also king of the Spartans, and joined in leading out the army from Lacedæmon, and who had never before had any difference with Cleomenes, *did the same*. In consequence of this division, a law was made in Sparta, that the two kings should not accompany the army when it went out *on foreign service*; for until that time both used to accompany it; and that when one of them was released from military service, one of the Tyndaridæ<sup>1</sup> likewise should be left at home; for before that time both these also used to accompany the army, as auxiliaries. At that time the rest of the allies, perceiving that the kings of the La-

<sup>1</sup> Castor and Pollux, the guardian deities of Sparta.



cedæmonians did not agree, and that the Corinthians had quitted their post, likewise took their departure. 76. This, then, was the fourth time that the Dorians had come to Attica; having twice entered to make war, and twice for the good of the Athenian people. First, when they settled a colony in Megara, when Codrus was king of Athens, that may properly be called an expedition; a second and third, when they were sent from Sparta for the expulsion of the Pisistratidæ; and a fourth time, when Cleomenes, at the head of the Peloponnesians, invaded Eleusis. Thus the Dorians then invaded Athens for the fourth time.

77. When this army was ingloriously dispersed, the Athenians, desirous to avenge themselves, marched first against the Chalcidians. The Bœotians came out to assist the Chalcidians at the Euripus; and the Athenians, seeing the auxiliaries, resolved to attack the Bœotians before the Chalcidians. Accordingly the Athenians came to an engagement with the Bœotians, and gained a complete victory; and having killed a great number, took seven hundred of them prisoners. On the same day, the Athenians, having crossed over to Eubœa, came to an engagement also with the Chalcidians; and having conquered them also, left four thousand men, settlers, in possession of the lands of the Hippobotæ;<sup>2</sup> for the most opulent of the Chalcidians were called Hippobotæ. As many of them as they took prisoners, they kept in prison with the Bœotians that were taken, having bound them in fetters; but in time they set them at liberty, having fixed their ransom at two minæ. The fetters in which they had been bound they hung up in the Acropolis, where they remained to my time hanging on a wall that had been much scorched by fire by the Mede, opposite the temple that faces the west. And they dedicated a tithe of the ransoms, having made a brazen chariot with four horses, and this stands on the left hand as you first enter the portico in the Acropolis; and it bears the following inscription: "The sons of the Athenians, having overcome the nations of the Bœotians and Chalcidians in feats of war, quelled their insolence in a dark iron dungeon: they have dedicated these mares, a tithe of the spoil, to Pallas." 78. The Athenians accordingly increased in power. And equality of rights shows, not in one

<sup>2</sup> "Feeders of horses."

instance only, but in every way, what an excellent thing it is. For the Athenians, when governed by tyrants, were superior in war to none of their neighbours ; but when freed from tyrants, became by far the first ; this, then, shows that as long as they were oppressed they purposely acted as cowards, as labouring for a master ; but when they were free every man was zealous to labour for himself. They accordingly did this.

79. After this the Thebans sent to the god, wishing to revenge themselves on the Athenians ; but the Pythian said, "that they would not obtain vengeance by their own power, but bade them refer the matter to the many-voiced people, and ask the assistance of their nearest friends." Those who were sent to consult the oracle having returned, called a general assembly, and referred the oracle to them. But when they heard them say that they were to ask the assistance of their nearest friends, the Thebans, on hearing this, said, "Do not the Tanagræans, Coronæans, and Thespians live nearest to us, and do not they always fight on our side, and heartily share with us in the toils of war ? What need have we then to ask their assistance ? But probably this is not the meaning of the oracle."

80. While they were discussing the matter, one, having at length comprehended it, said, "I think I understand what the oracle means. Thebe and Ægina are said to be daughters of Asopus. Now because these were sisters, I think the god has admonished us to entreat the Æginetæ to become our avengers." As no better opinion than this was brought forward, they immediately sent and entreated the Æginetæ, calling upon them to assist them according to the admonition of the oracle, as being their nearest friends. But they, on their petition, promised to send the Æacidæ<sup>3</sup> to their assistance. 81. The Thebans, relying on the assistance of the Æacidæ, having tried the fortune of war, and being roughly handled by the Athenians, sent again, and restored the Æacidæ, and requested a supply of men. Whereupon the Æginetæ, elated with their present prosperity, and calling to mind the ancient enmity they had towards the Athenians, at the request of the Thebans, levied war upon the Athenians without proclamation. For while they were pursuing the Bœotians, having sailed in long ships to Attica, they ravaged Phalerum and many villages on the rest of the coast ; and

<sup>3</sup> Meaning "the statues of the Æacidæ."

in doing this, they did considerable damage to the Athenians.

82. The enmity that was due of old from the *Æginetæ* to the Athenians proceeded from this origin. The land of the Epidaurians yielded no fruit : the Epidaurians therefore sent to consult the oracle at Delphi concerning this calamity. The Pythian bade them erect statues of Damia and Auxesia, and when they had erected them it would fare better with them. The Epidaurians then asked whether the statues should be made of brass or stone ; but the Pythian did not allow it to be of either, but of the wood of a cultivated olive. The Epidaurians thereupon requested the Athenians to permit them to cut down an olive tree, thinking that they were the most sacred : and it is said that there were olive trees in no other part of the world at that time. The Athenians said that they would permit them, on condition that they should annually bring victims to Minerva Polias, and Erectheus. The Epidaurians, having agreed to these terms, obtained what they asked for, and having made statues from these olive trees, erected them ; and their land became fruitful, and they fulfilled their engagements to the Athenians. 83. At that time and before, the *Æginetæ* obeyed the Epidaurians, both in other respects, and crossing over to Epidaurus, the *Æginetæ* gave and received<sup>4</sup> justice from one another. But afterwards having built ships, and having recourse to foolish confidence, they revolted from the Epidaurians, and being at variance, they did them much damage, as they were masters of the sea ; and moreover they took away from them these statues of Damia and Auxesia, and carried them off, and erected them in the interior of their own territory, the name of which is *Œa*, and about twenty stades distant from the city. Having erected them in this spot, they propitiated them with sacrifices, and derisive dances of women, ten men being assigned to each deity as leaders of the chorus ; and the choruses reviled, not any men, but the women of the country. The Epidaurians also had such religious ceremonies, but their religious ceremonies are kept secret. 84. When these statues had been stolen, the Epidaurians ceased to fulfil their engagements to the Athenians. The Athenians sent to expostulate with the Epidaurians, but they demonstrated that they were not in

<sup>4</sup> That is, "brought and defended actions there."

reality guilty of injustice ; for as long as they had the statues in their country, they fulfilled their engagements, but when they had been deprived of them it was not just that they should still pay the tribute, but they bid them demand it of the Æginetæ who possessed them. Upon this the Athenians, having sent to Ægina, demanded back the statues ; but the Æginetæ made answer, that they had nothing to do with the Athenians. 85. The Athenians say, that after this demand, some of their citizens were sent in a single trireme, who being sent by the commonwealth, and arriving at Ægina, attempted to drag these statues from off the pedestals, as made from their wood, in order that they might carry them away ; but not being able to get possession of them in that way, they threw cords about the statues, and hauled them along, and as they were hauling them, thunder, and with the thunder an earthquake, came on ; and the crew of the trireme who were hauling them, were in consequence deprived of their senses, and in this condition slew one another as enemies, till only one of the whole number was left and escaped to Phalerum. 86. Thus the Athenians say that it happened ; but the Æginetæ say that the Athenians did not come with a single ship ; for that they could easily have repulsed one, or a few more than one, even though they had no ships of their own. But *they say* that they sailed against their territory with many ships, and that they yielded and did not hazard a sea-fight. They are however unable to explain this clearly, whether they yielded because they were conscious that they would be inferior in a sea-fight, or with the purpose of doing what they did. They say however that the Athenians, when no one prepared to give them battle, disembarked from the ships and proceeded towards the statues ; and that not being able to wrench them from their pedestals, they then threw cords round them, and hauled them until the statues being hauled did the same thing ; herein relating what is not credible to me, but may be so to some one else ; for *they say*, that they fell on their knees, and have ever since continued in that posture. The Æginetæ say that the Athenians did this ; but concerning themselves, that being informed that the Athenians were about to make war upon them, they prepared the Argives to assist them ; and accordingly, that the Athenians landed on the territory of Ægina, and that the Argives



came to their assistance ; and that they crossed over to the island from Epidaurus unperceived, and fell upon the Athenians unexpectedly, cutting off their retreat to the ships ; and at this moment the thunder and earthquake happened. 87. Such is the account given by the Argives and Æginetæ : and it is admitted by the Athenians, that only one of their number was saved, and escaped to Attica : but the Argives affirm, that this one man survived, when they destroyed the Attic army ; the Athenians, on the contrary, say, when the deity destroyed it ; and that this one did not survive, but perished in the following manner : on his return to Athens, he gave an account of the disaster, and the wives of the men who had gone on the expedition against Ægina, when they heard it, being enraged that he alone of the whole number should be saved, crowded round this man, and piercing him with the clasps of their garments, each asked him where her own husband was ; thus he died. This action of the women seemed to the Athenians more dreadful than the disaster itself ; however they had no other way of punishing the women, they therefore compelled them to change their dress for the Ionian. For before that time, the wives of the Athenians wore the Dorian dress, which nearly resembles the Corinthian ; they changed it therefore for a linen tunic, that they might not use clasps. Yet if we follow the truth, this garment is not originally Ionian, but Carian ; for the whole ancient Grecian dress of the women was the same as that which we now call Dorian. 88. In consequence of this event it became a custom with both the Argives and the Æginetæ to do this ; to make their clasps one half larger than the measure before established, and that the women should chiefly dedicate clasps in the temple of these deities ; and to bring no other Attic article within the temple, not even a pitcher ; but a law was made, that they should drink there in future from vessels of their own country. Accordingly, from that time the wives of the Argives and Æginetæ, on account of their quarrel with the Athenians, continued even to my time to wear clasps larger than formerly.

89. The origin of the enmity entertained by the Athenians against the Æginetæ was such as has been described. At that time, therefore, when the Thebans called upon them, the Æginetæ, recalling to mind what had taken place respecting

the statues, readily assisted the Bœotians. The Æginetæ therefore laid waste the maritime places of Attica, and when the Athenians were preparing to march against the Æginetæ, an oracle came from Delphi, *enjoining them* "to wait for thirty years from the period of the injury committed by the Æginetæ; and in the thirty-first year, after building a temple to Æacus, to begin the war against the Æginetæ: and then they would succeed according to their wishes. But if they should march against them immediately, they should in the mean while endure much and also inflict much; but in the end would subdue them." When the Athenians heard this answer reported, they erected that temple to Æacus, which now stands in the forum; yet they could not bear to wait thirty years, when they heard that they ought to wait, though they had suffered such indignities from the Æginetæ. 90. But as they were preparing to take their revenge, an affair, set on foot by the Lacedæmonians, became an impediment. For the Lacedæmonians, being informed of the practices of the Alcæonidæ towards the Pythia, and those of the Pythia against themselves and the Pisistratidæ, considered it a double misfortune, because they had expelled men who were their own friends out of their country, and because, when they had done this, no gratitude was shown to them by the Athenians. In addition to this, the oracles urged them on, telling them that they would suffer many and grievous indignities from the Athenians, of which oracles they knew nothing before, but then became acquainted with them, on the return of Cleomenes to Sparta. Cleomenes got the oracles from the Acropolis of the Athenians; the Pisistratidæ had had them before, and left them in the temple when they were expelled; and as they were left behind, Cleomenes took them away. 91. When the Lacedæmonians obtained the oracles, and saw the Athenians increasing in power, and not at all disposed to submit to them, taking into consideration, that if the people of Attica should continue free they would become of equal weight with themselves, but if depressed by a tyranny would be weak and ready to obey; having considered each of these things, they sent for Hippias, son of Pisistratus, from Sigeum on the Hellespont, to which place the Pisistratidæ had retired. And when Hippias came, in compliance with their invitation, the Spartans, having summoned also the ambassadors of the

rest of their confederates, addressed them as follows: "Confederates, we are conscious that we have not acted rightly; for, being induced by lying oracles, the men who were our best friends, and who had promised to keep Athens subject to us,—them we expelled from their country, and then, having done this, we delivered the city to an ungrateful people, who, after they had been set at liberty, and had lifted up their heads through our means, have insultingly ejected us and our king; and having obtained renown, are growing in power, as their neighbours the Boeotians and Chalcidians have already learnt full well, and as others will soon learn to their cost.<sup>5</sup> Since, then, in doing these things we have committed an error, we will now endeavour, with your assistance, to remedy the mischief and punish them. For on this very account we sent for Hippias, who is here present, and *summoned* you from your cities, that by common consent, and combined forces, we may take him back to Athens, and restore to him what we took away."

92. Thus these spoke; but the majority of the confederates did not approve of their proposition. The rest kept silence, but Sosicles the Corinthian spoke as follows: "Surely the heavens will sink beneath the earth, and the earth ascend aloft above the heavens; men will live in the sea, and the fishes where men did before, now that you, O Lacedæmonians, abolish equality, dissolve a commonwealth, and prepare to restore tyrannies in the cities, than which there is nothing more unjust, nor more cruel among men. If, in truth, this appears to you a good thing, that cities should be ruled by tyrants, do you first set up a tyrant over yourselves, and then attempt to set them up over others. But now, while ye yourselves are altogether unacquainted with tyrannical power, and watch with jealousy that such a thing should not happen in Sparta, ye behave contemptuously towards your allies. But if ye had been taught by experience, as we have, ye would have a better proposal to make to us than you now do. (2.) The

<sup>5</sup> τάχα δέ τις καὶ ἄλλος ἐκμαθήσεται ἀμαρτῶν.—I have ventured on a new mode of translating this passage, which appears to me more in accordance with the Greek idiom. Baehr, whose version is most simple and literal, renders it, "and perhaps some one else will learn that he has committed an error;" meaning the Lacedæmonians themselves, to whom the speaker doubtless alludes.

constitution of the Corinthians was formerly of this kind: it was an oligarchy, and those who were called Bacchiadæ governed the city; they intermarried only within their own family. Amphion, one of these men, had a lame daughter, her name was Labda: as no one of the Bacchiadæ would marry her, Eetion, son of Echecrates, who was of the district of Petra, though originally one of the Lapithæ, and a descendant of Cæneus, had her. He had no children by this wife, nor by any other, he therefore went to Delphi to inquire about having offspring; and immediately as he entered, the Pythian saluted him in the following lines: 'Eetion, no one honours thee, though worthy of much honour. Labda is pregnant, and will bring forth a round stone; it will fall on monarchs, and will vindicate Corinth.' This oracle, pronounced to Eetion, was by chance reported to the Bacchiadæ, to whom a former oracle concerning Corinth was unintelligible, and which tended to the same end as that of Eetion, and was in these terms: 'An eagle broods on rocks;<sup>6</sup> and shall bring forth a lion, strong and carnivorous; and it shall loosen the knees of many. Now ponder this well, ye Corinthians, who dwell around beauteous Pirene and frowning Corinth.' (3.) Now this, which had been given before, was unintelligible to the Bacchiadæ; but now, when they heard that which was delivered to Eetion, they presently understood the former one, since it agreed with that given to Eetion. And though they comprehended, they kept it secret, purposing to destroy the offspring that should be born to Eetion. As soon as the woman brought forth, they sent ten of their own number to the district where Eetion lived, to put the child to death; and when they arrived at Petra, and entered the court of Eetion, they asked for the child; but Labda, knowing nothing of the purpose for which they had come, and supposing that they asked for it out of affection for the father, brought the child, and put it into the hands of one of them. Now, it had been determined by them in the way, that whichever of them should first receive the child, should dash it on the ground. When, however, Labda brought and gave it to one of them, the child, by a divine providence, smiled on the man who received it;

<sup>6</sup> The words, *αλετὸς*, "an eagle," and *πέτρῃσι*, "rocks," bear an enigmatical meaning; the former intimating "Eetion," and the latter his birth-place, "Petra."



and when he perceived this, a feeling of pity restrained him from killing it; and, moved by compassion, he gave it to the second, and he to the third; thus the infant, being handed from one to another, passed through the hands of all the ten, and not one of them was willing to destroy it. Having therefore delivered the child again to its mother, and gone out, they stood at the door, and attacked each other with mutual recriminations; and especially the first who took the child, because he had not done as had been determined: at last, when some time had elapsed, they determined to go in again, and that every one should share in the murder. (4.) But it was fated that misfortunes should spring up to Corinth from the progeny of Eetion. For Labda, standing at the very door, heard all that had passed; and fearing that they might change their resolution, and having obtained the child a second time might kill it, she took and hid it, in a place which appeared least likely to be thought of, in a chest; being very certain, that if they should return and come back to search, they would pry every where; which in fact did happen: but when, having come and made a strict search, they could not find the child, they resolved to depart, and tell those who sent them that they had done all that they had commanded. (5.) After this, Eetion's son grew up, and having escaped this danger, the name of Cypselus was given him, from the chest. When Cypselus reached man's estate, and consulted the oracle, an ambiguous answer was given him at Delphi; relying on which, he attacked and got possession of Corinth. The oracle was this: 'Happy this man, who is come down to my dwelling; Cypselus, son of Eetion, king of renowned Corinth; he and his children, but not his children's children.' Such was the oracle. And Cypselus, having obtained the tyranny, behaved himself thus: he banished many of the Corinthians, deprived many of their property, and many more of their life. (6.) When he had reigned thirty years, and ended his life happily, his son Periander became his successor in the tyranny. Now Periander at first was more mild than his father; but when he had communicated by ambassadors with Thrasybulus, tyrant of Miletus, he became far more cruel than Cypselus. For having sent a nuncio to Thrasybulus, he asked in what way, having ordered affairs most securely, he might best govern the city. Thrasybulus conducted the person who came from

Periander out of the city, and going into a field of corn, and as he went through the standing corn, questioning him about, and making him repeat over again, the account of his coming from Corinth, he cut off any ear that he saw taller than the rest, and having cut it off, he threw it away, till in this manner he had destroyed the best and deepest of the corn. Having gone through the piece of ground, and given no message at all, he dismissed the nuncio. When the nuncio returned to Corinth, Periander was anxious to know the answer of Thrasybulus ; but he said that Thrasybulus had given him no answer, and wondered he should have sent him to such a man, for that he was crazy, and destroyed his own property, relating what he had seen done by Thrasybulus. (7.) But Periander, comprehending the meaning of the action, and understanding that Thrasybulus advised him to put to death the most eminent of the citizens, thereupon exercised all manner of cruelties towards his subjects ; for whatever Cypselus had left undone, by killing and banishing, Periander completed. One day he stripped all the Corinthian women, on account of his own wife Melissa :<sup>7</sup> for when he sent messengers to the Thesprotians on the river Acheron, to consult the oracle of the dead respecting a deposit made by a stranger, Melissa having appeared, said that she would neither make it known, nor tell in what place the deposit lay, because she was cold and naked ; for that there was no use in the garments in which he had buried her, since they had not been burnt : and as a proof that she spoke truth, *she added*, that Periander had put his bread into a cold oven. When this answer was brought back to Periander, for the token was convincing to him, since he had lain with Melissa after her death, he immediately, on receiving the message, made proclamation that all the women of Corinth should repair to the temple of Juno. They accordingly went, as to a festival, dressed in their best attire ; but he having privately introduced his guards, stripped them all alike, both the free women and attendants ; and having collected them together in a pit, he invoked Melissa, and burnt them. When he had done this, and sent a second time, the phantom of Melissa told in what place she had laid the stranger's deposit. Such, O Lacedæmonians, is a tyranny, and such are its deeds. Great astonishment, therefore, immediately seized us Corinthians,

<sup>7</sup> See B. III. chap. 50.

when we understood you had sent for Hippias ; but now we are still more astonished, at hearing you say what you do ; and we entreat you, adjuring you by the Grecian gods, not to establish tyrannies in the cities. Nevertheless, if you will not desist, but against all right will endeavour to restore Hippias, know that the Corinthians, at least, do not approve of your design."

93. Sosicles, who was ambassador from Corinth, spoke thus. But Hippias answered him, having invoked the same gods as he had, that the Corinthians would most of all regret the Pisistratidæ, when the fated days should come for them to be harassed by the Athenians. Hippias answered thus, as being more accurately acquainted with the oracles than any other man. The rest of the confederates, until then, had kept silence ; but when they heard Sosicles speak freely, every one of them, with acclamation, embraced the opinion of the Corinthian ; and they adjured the Lacedæmonians not to introduce any innovation into a Grecian city. And thus that design was defeated. 94. When Hippias departed thence, Amyntas the Macedonian offered him Anthemus, and the Thessalians offered him Iolcus ; he, however, accepted neither of them, but returned back to Sigeum, which Pisistratus had taken by force from the Mityleneans, and having got possession of it, he appointed his natural son Hegesistratus, born of an Argive woman, to be tyrant ; he, however, did not retain without a struggle, what he had received from Pisistratus. For the Mityleneans and the Athenians, setting out from the city of Achilleïum and Sygeum, *respectively* carried on war for a long time ; the former demanding restitution of the place, and the Athenians not only not conceding it, but showing by argument that the Æolians had no more right to the territories of Ilium than they, or any other of the Greeks, who had assisted Menelaus in avenging the rape of Helen. 95. While they were at war, various other events occurred in the different battles ; and among them, Alcæus the poet, when an engagement took place, and the Athenians were victorious, saved himself by flight ; but the Athenians got possession of his arms, and hung them up in the temple of Minerva at Sigeum. Alcæus having described this in an ode, sent it to Mitylene to inform his friend Melanippus of his misfortune. Periander, son of Cypselus, reconciled the Mityleneans and Athenians,

for they referred to him as arbitrator ; and he reconciled them on these terms, that each should retain what they had. Thus then Sigeum became subject to the Athenians. 96. When Hippias returned from Lacedæmon to Asia, he set every thing in motion, accusing the Athenians falsely to Artaphernes, and contriving every means, by which Athens might be subjected to himself and Darius. Hippias accordingly busied himself about this, and the Athenians, having heard of it, sent ambassadors to Sardis, warning the Persians not to give ear to the Athenian exiles. But Artaphernes bade them, if they wished to continue safe, receive Hippias back again. The Athenians, however, would not consent to the proposed condition ; and when they did not consent, it was determined openly to declare themselves enemies to the Persians.

97. When they were taking this resolution, and were being falsely accused to the Persians, at that very time Aristagoras the Milesian, having been expelled from Sparta by Cleomenes the Lacedæmonian, arrived at Athens ; for this city was much more powerful than the rest. Aristagoras, presenting himself before the people, said the same he had done at Sparta, respecting the wealth of Asia and the Persian mode of warfare, how they used neither shield nor spear, and would be easily conquered. He said this, and, in addition, that the Milesians were a colony of the Athenians, and it was but reasonable that they, having such great power, should rescue them. And there was nothing he did not promise, as being very much in earnest, until at length he persuaded them. For it appears to be more easy to impose upon a multitude than one man ; since he was not able to impose upon Cleomenes the Lacedæmonian singly, but did so to thirty thousand Athenians. The Athenians accordingly, being persuaded, decreed to send twenty ships to succour the Ionians, having appointed Melanthius commander over them, a citizen who was universally esteemed. These ships were the source of calamities both to Greeks and barbarians. 98. Aristagoras having sailed first, and arrived at Miletus, had recourse to a project from which no advantage could result to the Ionians ; nor did he employ it for that purpose, but that he might vex king Darius. He sent a man into Phrygia, to the Pæonians, who had been carried away captive by Megabazus from the river Strymon, and occupied a tract in Phrygia, and a village by themselves. When



he reached the Pæonians, he spoke as follows : “ Men of Pæonia, Aristagoras, tyrant of Miletus, has sent me to suggest to you a mode of deliverance, if you will take his advice. For all Ionia has revolted from the king, and offers you an opportunity of returning safe to your own country ; as far as the coast take care of yourselves, and we will provide for the rest.” The Pæonians, when they heard these words, considered it a very joyful event, and having taken with them their children and wives, fled to the coast ; but some of them, through fear, remained where they were. When the Pæonians reached the coast, they thence crossed over to Chios ; and just as they had reached Chios, a large body of Persian cavalry came on their heels, pursuing the Pæonians ; and when they did not overtake them, sent orders to Chios to the Pæonians, commanding them to return. But the Pæonians did not listen to the proposal ; but the Chians conveyed them to Lesbos, and the Lesbians forwarded them to Doriscus ; thence proceeding on foot they reached Pæonia.

99. But Aristagoras, when the Athenians arrived with twenty ships, bringing with them five triremes of the Eretrians, who engaged in this expedition, not out of good-will to the Athenians, but of the Milesians themselves, in order to repay a former obligation ; for the Milesians had formerly joined the Eretrians in the war against the Chalcidians, at the time when the Samians assisted the Chalcidians against the Eretrians and Milesians. When these, then, had arrived, and the rest of the allies had come up, Aristagoras resolved to make an expedition to Sardis. He himself did not march with the army, but remained at Miletus, and appointed others as generals of the Milesians, his own brother Charopinus, and of the other citizens Hermophantus. 100. The Ionians, having arrived at Ephesus with this force, left their ships at Coressus, in the Ephesian territory, and they advanced with a numerous army, taking Ephesians for their guides ; and marching by the side of the river Cayster, from thence they crossed Mount Tmolus, and reached and took Sardis without opposition ; and they took all except the citadel, but Artaphernes with a strong garrison defended the citadel. 101. The following accident prevented them, after they had taken the city, from plundering it. Most of the houses in Sardis were built with reeds ; and such of them as were built with

brick, had roofs of reeds. A soldier happened to set fire to one of these, and immediately the flame spread from house to house, and consumed the whole city. While the city was being burnt, the Lydians, and as many of the Persians as were in the city, being enclosed on every side, since the fire had got possession of the extreme parts, and had no means of escaping from the city, rushed together to the market-place, and to the river Pactolus, which, bringing down grains of gold from Mount Tmolus, flows through the middle of the market-place, and then discharges itself into the river Hermus, and that into the sea. The Lydians and Persians, therefore, being assembled on this Pactolus and at the market-place, were constrained to defend themselves : and the Ionians, seeing some of the enemy standing on their defence, and others coming up in great numbers, retired through fear to the mountain called Tmolus, and thence under favour of the night retreated to their ships. 102. Thus Sardis was burnt, and in it the temple of the native goddess Cybebe ; the Persians, making a pretext of this, afterwards burnt in retaliation the temples of Greece. As soon as the Persians who had settlements on this side the river Halys were informed of these things, they drew together, and marched to assist the Lydians ; and they happened to find that the Ionians were no longer at Sardis ; but following on their track they overtook them at Ephesus ; and the Ionians drew out in battle-array against them, and coming to an engagement, were sorely beaten ; and the Persians slew many of them, and among other persons of distinction, Eualcis, general of the Eretrians, who had gained the prize in the contests for the crown, and had been much celebrated by Simonides the Cean. Those who escaped from the battle, were dispersed throughout the cities.

103. At that time such was the result of the encounter. Afterwards, the Athenians, totally abandoning the Ionians, though Aristagoras urgently solicited them by ambassadors, refused to send them any assistance. The Ionians, being deprived of the alliance of the Athenians, (for they had conducted themselves in such a manner towards Darius from the first,) nevertheless prepared for war with the king. And having sailed to the Hellespont, they reduced Byzantium and all the other cities in that quarter to their obedience. Then having sailed out of the Hellespont, they gained over to their

alliance the greater part of Caria ; for the city of Caunus, which before would not join their alliance, when they had burnt Sardis, came over to their side. 104. And all the Cyprians, except the Amathusians, came over to them of their own accord ; for they too had revolted from the Mede on the following occasion. Onesilus was younger brother of Gorgus king of the Salaminians, and son of Chersis, son of Siromus, son of Euelthon ; this man had frequently before exhorted his brother to revolt from the king ; but when he heard that the Ionians had revolted, he pressed him very urgently, but finding he could not persuade Gorgus, Onesilus with his partisans, thereupon having watched an opportunity when he had gone out of the city of the Salaminians, shut the gates against him. Gorgus being thus deprived of his city, fled to the Medes ; and Onesilus ruled over Salamis, and endeavoured to persuade all the Cyprians to join in the revolt. The rest he persuaded ; but the Amathusians, who would not listen to him, he sat down and besieged.

105. Onesilus accordingly besieged Amathus. But when it was told king Darius, that Sardis had been taken and burnt by the Athenians and Ionians, and that Aristagoras the Milesian was the chief of the confederacy, and the contriver of that enterprise ; it is related that he, when he heard this, took no account of the Ionians, well knowing that they would not escape unpunished for their rebellion, but inquired where the Athenians were : then having been informed, he called for a bow, and having received one, and put an arrow into it, he let it fly towards heaven, and as he shot it into the air, he said, "O Jupiter, grant that I may revenge myself on the Athenians !" Having thus spoken, he commanded one of his attendants, every time dinner was set before him, to say thrice, "Sire, remember the Athenians." 106. Having given this order, and summoned to his presence Histiaëus the Milesian, whom he had already detained a long time, Darius said : "I am informed, Histiaëus, that your lieutenant, to whom you intrusted Miletus, has attempted innovations against me ; for having brought men from the other continent, and with them Ionians, who shall give me satisfaction for what they have done ; having persuaded these to accompany them, he has deprived me of Sardis. Now, can it appear to you that this is right ? Could such a thing have been done without your advice ? Beware lest

hereafter you expose yourself to blame." To this Histæus answered : "O king, what have you said ? That I should advise a thing from which any grief, great or little, should ensue to you ! with what object should I do so ? What am I in want of ? I, who have all things the same as you, and am deemed worthy to share all your counsels ? But if my lieutenant has done any such thing as you mention, be assured he has done it of his own contrivance. But in the outset I do not believe the account, that the Milesians and my lieutenant have attempted any innovations against your authority. Yet if they have done any thing of the kind, and you have heard the truth, consider, O king, what mischief you have done in withdrawing me from the coast. For the Ionians seem, when I was out of their sight, to have done what they long ago desired to do ; and had I been in Ionia not one city would have stirred. Suffer me therefore to go with all speed to Ionia, that I may restore all things there to their former condition, and deliver into your hands this lieutenant of Miletus, who has plotted the whole. When I have done this according to your mind, I swear by the royal gods, not to put off the garments which I shall wear when I go down to Ionia, before I have made the great island Sardinia tributary to you." 107. Histæus, speaking thus, deceived the king. But Darius was persuaded, and let him go ; having charged him to return to him at Susa, so soon as he should have accomplished what he had promised.

108. While the news concerning Sardis was going up to the king, and Darius, having done what has been described relating to the bow, held a conference with Histæus, and while Histæus, having been dismissed by Darius, was on his journey to the sea ; during all this time the following events took place. Tidings were brought to Onesilus the Salaminian, as he was besieging the Amathusians, that Artybius, a Persian, leading a large Persian force on ship-board, was to be expected in Cyprus. Onesilus, having been informed of this, sent heralds to the different parts of Ionia, inviting them to assist him ; and the Ionians, without any protracted deliberation, came with a large armament. The Ionians accordingly arrived at Cyprus, and the Persians, having crossed over in ships from Cilicia, marched by land against Salamis ; but the Phœnicians in their ships doubled the promontory, which is



called the key of Cyprus. 109. This having taken place, the tyrants of Cyprus, having called together the general of the Ionians, said, "Men of Ionia, we Cyprians give you the choice, to engage with whichever you wish, the Persians or Phœnicians. If you choose to try your strength with the Persians drawn up on land, it is time for you to disembark from your ships, and to draw up on land, and for us to go on board your ships, in order to oppose the Phœnicians: but if you would rather try your strength with the Phœnicians, whichever of these you choose, it behoves you so to behave yourselves, that as far as depends on you both Ionia and Cyprus may be free." To this the Ionians answered: "The general council of the Ionians has sent us to guard the sea, and not that, having delivered our ships to the Cyprians, we ourselves should engage with the Persians by land. We therefore shall endeavour to do our duty in that post to which we have been appointed; and it behoves you, bearing in mind what you have suffered under the yoke of the Medes, to prove yourselves to be brave men." The Ionians made answer in these words. 110. Afterwards, when the Persians had reached the plain of the Salaminians, the kings of the Cyprians drew up their forces in line, stationing the other Cyprians against the other soldiery *of the enemy*, but having selected the best of the Salaminians and Solians, they stationed them against the Persians. Onesilus voluntarily took up his position directly against Artybius, the general of the Persians. 111. Artybius used to ride on a horse, that had been taught to rear up against an armed enemy. Onesilus, therefore, having heard of this, and having as a shield-bearer a Carian well skilled in matters of war, and otherwise full of courage, said to this man, "I am informed that the horse of Artybius rears up, and with his feet and mouth attacks whomsoever he is made to engage with; do you therefore determine at once, and tell me, which you will watch and strike, whether the horse or Artybius himself." His attendant answered, "I am ready to do both, or either of them, and indeed whatever you may command. But I will declare how it appears to me to be most conducive to your interest. A king and a general ought, I think, to engage with a king and a general. For if you vanquish one who is a general, your glory is great; and in the next place, if he should vanquish you, which may the gods avert, to fall by a noble

hand is but half the calamity ; but we servants should engage with other servants, and also against a horse, whose tricks do not you fear at all ; for I promise you he shall never hereafter rear up against any man." 112. Thus he spoke, and forthwith the forces joined battle by land and sea. Now the Ionians, fighting valiantly on that day, defeated the Phœnicians at sea ; and of these the Samians most distinguished themselves ; but on land, when the armies met, they engaged in close combat ; and the following happened with respect to the two generals : when Artybius, seated on his horse, bore down upon Onesilus, Onesilus, as he had concerted with his shield-bearer, struck Artybius himself as he was bearing down upon him ; and as the horse was throwing his feet against the shield of Onesilus, the Carian thereupon struck him with a scythe, and cut off the horse's feet. So that Artybius the general of the Persians fell together with his horse on the spot. 113. While the rest were fighting, Stesenor, who was of Curium, deserted with no inconsiderable body of men ; these Curians are said to be a colony of Argives ; and when the Curians had deserted, the chariots of war belonging to the Salaminians did the same as the Curians : in consequence of this the Persians became superior to the Cyprians ; and the army being put to flight, many others fell, and amongst them Onesilus, son of Chersis, who had contrived the revolt of the Cyprians, and the king of the Solians, Aristocyprus, son of Philocyprus ; of that Philocyprus, whom Solon the Athenian, when he visited Cyprus, celebrated in his verses above all tyrants. 114. Now the Amathusians, having cut off the head of Onesilus, because he had besieged them, took it to Amathus, and suspended it over the gates ; and when the head was suspended, and had become hollow, a swarm of bees entered it, and filled it with honey-comb. When this happened, the Amathusians consulted the oracle respecting it, and an answer was given them, "that they should take down the head and bury it, and sacrifice annually to Onesilus, as to a hero ; and if they did so, it would turn out better for them." 115. The Amathusians did accordingly, and *continued to do so* until my time. The Ionians, who had fought by sea at Cyprus, when they heard that the affairs of Onesilus were ruined, and that the rest of the Cyprian cities were besieged, except Salamis, but this the Salaminians had restored to their former king

Gorgus ; the Ionians, as soon as they learnt this, sailed away to Ionia. Of the cities in Cyprus, Soli held out against the siege for the longest time ; but the Persians, having undermined the wall all round, took it in the fifth month.

116. Thus the Cyprians, having been free for one year, were again reduced to servitude. But Daurises, who had married a daughter of Darius, and Hymeas, and Otanes, and other Persian generals who also had married daughters of Darius, having pursued those of the Ionians who had attacked Sardis, and having driven them to their ships, when they had conquered them in battle, next divided the cities among themselves and proceeded to plunder them. 117. Daurises, directing his march towards the cities on the Hellespont, took Dardanus ; he also took Abydos, Percote, Lampsacus, and Pæsus ; these he took each in one day. But as he was advancing from Pæsus against Parium, news was brought him that the Carians, having conspired with the Ionians, had revolted from the Persians. Therefore turning back from the Hellespont, he led his army against Caria. 118. Somehow news of this was brought to the Carians before Daurises arrived. The Carians, having heard of it, assembled at what are called the White Columns, on the river Marsyas, which flowing from the territory of Idrias, falls into the Mæander. When the Carians were assembled on this spot, several other propositions were made, of which the best appeared to be that of Pixodarus, son of Mausolus, a Cyndian, who had married the daughter of Syennesis king of the Cilicians. His opinion was that the Carians, having crossed the Mæander, and having the river in their rear, should so engage ; in order that the Carians, not being able to retreat, and being compelled to remain on their ground, might be made even braver than they naturally were. This opinion, however, did not prevail, but that the Mæander should rather be in the rear of the Persians than of themselves ; to the end that if the Persians should be put to flight, and worsted in the engagement, they might have no retreat, and fall into the river. 119. Afterwards, the Persians having come up and crossed the Mæander, the Carians, thereupon, came to an engagement with the Persians on the banks of the river Marsyas, and they fought an obstinate battle, and for a long time, but at last were overpowered by numbers. Of the Persians there fell about two thousand, and

of the Carians, ten thousand. Such of them as escaped from thence were shut up in Labranda, in a large precinct and sacred grove of plane-trees, dedicated to Jupiter Stratius. The Carians are the only people we know, who offer sacrifices to Jupiter Stratius. They, then, being shut up in this place, consulted on the means of safety, whether they would fare better by surrendering themselves to the Persians, or by abandoning Asia altogether. 120. While they were deliberating about this, the Milesians and their allies came to their assistance; upon this the Carians gave up what they were before deliberating about, and prepared to renew the war; and they engaged with the Persians when they came up, and having fought, were more signally beaten than before; though in the whole many fell, the Milesians suffered most. 121. The Carians, however, afterwards recovered this wound, and renewed the contest. For hearing that the Persians designed to invade their cities, they placed an ambuscade on the way to Pedasus, into which the Persians falling by night, were cut in pieces, both they and their generals Daurises, Amorges, and Sisamaces; and with them perished Myrses, son of Gyges. The leader of this ambuscade was Heraclides, son of Ibanolis, a Mylassian. Thus these Persians were destroyed.

122. Hymeas, who was also one of those who pursued the Ionians that had attacked Sardis, bending his march towards the Propontis, took Cius of Mysia. But having taken it, when he heard that Daurises had quitted the Hellespont, and was marching against Caria, he abandoned the Propontis, and led his army on the Hellespont; and he subdued all the Æolians who inhabited the territory of Ilium, and subdued the Gergithæ, the remaining descendants of the ancient Teucrians; but Hymeas himself, having subdued these nations, died of disease in the Troad. 123. Thus then he died: but Artaphernes, governor of Sardis, and Otanes, one of the three generals,<sup>8</sup> were appointed to invade Ionia, and the neighbouring territory of Æolia. Of Ionia, accordingly, they took Clazomenæ; and of the Æolians, Cyme.

124. When these cities were taken, Aristagoras the<sup>9</sup> Milesian, for he was not, as it proved, a man of strong courage, who

<sup>8</sup> The two others were Daurises and Hymeas; see ch. 116.

<sup>9</sup> The reader will observe that the sentence is broken and imperfect; it is so in the original.



having thrown Ionia into confusion, and raised great disturbances, thought of flight, when he saw these results ; and, besides, it appeared to him impossible to overcome king Darius : therefore, having called his partisans together, he conferred with them, saying, " that it would be better for them to have some sure place of refuge, in case they should be expelled from Miletus." *He asked*, therefore, whether he should lead them to Sardinia, to found a colony, or to Myrcinus of the Edonians, which Histiaëus had begun to fortify, having received it as a gift from Darius. 125. However, the opinion of Hecataëus the historian, son of Hegesander, was, that they should set out for neither of these places, but that, having built a fortress in the island of Leros, they should remain quiet, if they were compelled to quit Miletus ; and that at some future time, proceeding from thence, they might return to Miletus. This was the advice of Hecataëus. 126. But Aristagoras himself was decidedly in favour of proceeding to Myrcinus ; he therefore intrusted Miletus to Pythagoras, a citizen of distinction, and he himself, taking with him all who were willing, sailed to Thrace, and took possession of the region to which he was bound. But setting out from thence, both Aristagoras himself and all his army perished by the hands of Thracians, as he was laying siege to a city, and the Thracians were willing to depart on terms of capitulation.